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KWANTUNG ARMY, MANCHUKUO

Staff Headquarters
24 January, 1938

To: Gen. SUGIYAMA, War Minister
From: Kenkichi UEDA, Commandant KWANTUNG ARMY
NO.138 (Staff Hdqtrs, Kwantung Army, Manchukuo)
Subject: Representation of Opinion concerning Establishment of a
New China

In accordance to the new situation, we hereby submit to you,
as per attached sheet, our opinion in regard to the establishment of a
New China as seen from the standpoint of our Army.

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OUTLINE OF THE POLICY
for the Establishment of a New China

HEADQUARTERS OF THE

KWANTUNG ARMY

JAN. 22, 1938

OUTLINE OF THE POLICY FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF

A NEW CHINA

GENERAL POLICY

1. Now that a new starting point for our attitude toward the National Government has been formed by resolution of the Cabinet Council, a definite aim has already been given generally. From this point of view, we hold the unification of Japan and Manchukuo to be the fundamental policy of our Empire, and, furthermore, by cooperating with a new China we shall maintain the principle of progressing towards stabilization of East Asia. At the same time, we must not be stopped merely by forms and arrangements as belong to a centralized and unified government, but, as a first step, we must try to strengthen and connect the influential regimes existing in the various localities. Thus, by achieving unification through so-called administration of the local governments, we save the Chinese people from the maladministration of a country split by factions, and from the disaster of Bolshevization. We make it a fundamental policy to carry out an administration as will realize the co-prosperity of Japan and Manchukuo, especially the strengthening of the national defence power in time of emergency.

We especially must dispel any doubt as to our moral spirit of anti-communism and relief of the people which are desired by our Empire. We shall acquire the friendship and trust of the 400,000,000 Chinese people at home, and clear up suspicions and correct misconceptions held by the great powers abroad. At the same time we try to destroy the National Government completely by taking various measures.

GENERAL OUTLINE OF ADMINISTRATION

A Guide to the Establishment of a New China.

Although the establishment of a new China lies ultimately in organizing a central government in North China, we shall respect the wishes and conventions of the native people exclusively and make them contribute to the preparation for the fast approaching war with Soviet Russia. At the same time we shall make them concentrate on post-war adjustment made necessary by the Incident. Thus, it is our main purpose to build an ideal self-governing body of the united provinces which will be fit for the present state of affairs and suitable for the demands of national defence, peace and order, and the political situation of various provinces. Especially, we shall avoid hurrying the establishment of a centralized government as a formal so-called modern nation, adherent to the manner of Europe and America, so that we may not unnecessarily irritate the local regimes. We shall accomplish unification through the so-called administration of local governments and endeavor to achieve our purpose.

2. GENERAL OUTLINE FOR GUIDING THE ADMINISTRATION OF LOCAL GOVERNMENTS.

(a) By adopting a positive policy, accompanied by the military action of the Imperial Army, we shall cause the establishment in the various provinces of self-governing regimes, and at the same time we plan to strengthen thoroughly each powerful regime already born in Mongolia-Siankiang etc. and to invigorate the Central China regime now coming into existence. Thus, we let every regime embody national prosperity, acquiring its confidence in the Empire tranquilly, and consequently we conduct the operation so as to have the 400,000,000 Chinese people come under their own regimes gladly.

(b) Although the various local regimes shall unify their course of administration according to the policy established by the central government, the substance of it shall be limited to the mere outline. We shall have the various local regimes adopt in their administration the principle that the natives shall be given first consideration, which is appropriate to the actual conditions of the specific localities, and thus the extreme formalities shall be avoided in leading the regimes.

Especially, administration with the Japanese at its nucleus is extremely inadvisable.

c. The following articles shall be the common aim throughout the various local regimes in order to establish new China and shall be administered uniformly by the proper management, according to circumstances and relative importance.

1. The establishment of national defence and public order.
2. Stabilization of popular sentiment.
3. Improvement of national life.
4. Adoption of anti-communist policies and pro-Japan-Manchukuan policies.
5. Intellectual movement for the exaltation of Oriental morale.

d. To each of the following articles special attention shall be paid, in view of the extraordinary situation of the local regimes.

1. Mongolia-Siankiang District.

As a base for invading Outer Mongolia and as a mutual bulwark between Japan, Manchukuo and Mongolia against communism in Ningsia and its western parts, this district shall satisfy its demands for national defence. At the same time we will not let this district fail to secure the resources for national defence while we have them (the people of this district) promote the establishment of new China in accordance with the development of Manchukuo.

2. NORTH CHINA DISTRICT

Geographically and economically, this district shall be a bond which unites Japan, Manchukuo and China, and at the same time, as a stabilizing zone at Manchukuo's back door, it shall specially satisfy the demands for its national defence and public order.

For the time being, we will try to find our market there in order to make it contribute to the expansion of the productive power of JAPAN and MANCHUKUO, besides we expect to secure the resources of national defence for the future.

3. CENTRAL CHINA

The unreasonable European and American influence, centered at Shanghai and the Yangtze River, shall be driven out and we will carry out our policy so as to try to establish the political and economic power of our Empire there.

For the present, first consideration shall be given to post-war recovery and to winning the hearts of the people.

4. South CHINA

The first principle is friendship between Japan and China and economically let it coordinate with the advance of the great powers.

3) ORGANIZATION OF THE NEW REGIME.

a. The new central regime shall hold sovereignty over China and by representing China centrally undertake negotiations with foreign countries. Besides, its system shall be something like a general united committee of China consisting of the representatives of the various local regimes, and, especially with regard to France, economic, communication, etc., it shall adjust the interests of the various local regimes and be responsible for the control and guidance of them.

b. Every regime shall be managed so that the organs concerned with the Japanese Army may be able adequately to lead it internally.

The duty of the Japanese navy is restricted to the sea exclusively and thus in leading the new regime we may adopt a single policy.

c. In order to make the above mentioned central control easier and more advantageous, the political system of each local regime shall have freedom in the management of official business and in the adjustment of the interests among the various local regimes. Also it shall be appropriate to the actual conditions of the various localities. One instance of its plan is as follows:

MONGOLIA-SIANKIANG REGIME. We will strengthen it on the basis of the present situation and extend it to Ningsia and farther west.

NORTH CHINA REGIME. This governs principally the inner parts of the Great Wall and further south, the provinces of Shansi, Shantung and Hopei, respectively.

The Liberal City of Shanghai. Besides establishing a Shanghai in the north district of Chap, we shall set up a neutral area generally along the line of Taihu and its east to Chinshan and lead it under the power of the Empire.

CENTRAL CHINA. One regime shall be established along the banks of the Chongkong.

d. With regard to the leading of policy and economics, we shall try to achieve the purpose by employing Japanese advisors who have a lofty character and a wise view and fit for settling a matter properly.

Also, persons of moral influence and of pro-Japanese leanings, or young men of pro-Japanese leanings and with new ideas shall be selected and used in each regime. The former military clique and politicians shall be cleared away at one stroke and shall not be made use of.

4. FINANCIAL POLICY OF THE NEW REGIME.

The financial policy of the new regime depends upon the principle of unification through the local governments and in every influential local regime (Mongolia-Siankiang, NorthCHINA, Central CHINA etc) we shall establish a bank of issue with an independent system and control it properly through the central regime.

5. INTELLECTUAL POLICY IN THE NEW REGIME.

a. Intellectual policy shall be reduced, for instance, to such a unified idea as the new principle of royalty (the essential parts of its substance consist of pro-Japanese and Manchukuan ideas, the spirit of anti-Bolshevism, exaltation of eastern morals, etc. Thus, the new regime shall not fail to hold and govern the hearts of the people.

b. The system of the operation of the thought policy shall be for the present, localized according to the special conditions of the respective province of each local regime and we unify it according to intellectual content.

Hasty formal unification through societies like the New People's Society, (SHIMMIN-KAI) etc. shall be strictly avoided.

6. Policy of the New Regime Towards Public Order.

The new regime does not organize a systematic army under centralized control, but, as a principle, each local regime keeps the least number of peace preservation units necessary for securing public peace.

But the Inner Mongolian Army shall be strengthened as an expeditionary army.

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The Japanese Army stations at the spots necessary for taking counter-measures to the National Government and for securing public peace, and fortification shall be set up.

7. Policy Towards the National Government.

We are prepared for a thoroughly prolonged war against the National Government, and we shall speed up the various policies, while at the same time we plan the utter destruction of the National Government by taking all measures such as politic, diplomatic, economic and so on.

However, concerning the expansion of the area of military operations we carefully consider the matter.

8. POLICY TOWARDS THE NEW CHINA

Japan and Manchukuo will support the establishment of new China and let her assume a definite attitude. Thus in the first place we foster regimes in various localities and, in trying to adjust relations between them, we promote the growth of the new central regime and gradually we shall come to recognize it formally.